



INDUSTRIAL WORKERS  
OF THE WORLD

# INDUSTRIAL WORKER

★ EDUCATION ★ ORGANIZATION ★ EMANCIPATION

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## Wildcat Strike In Phillipines

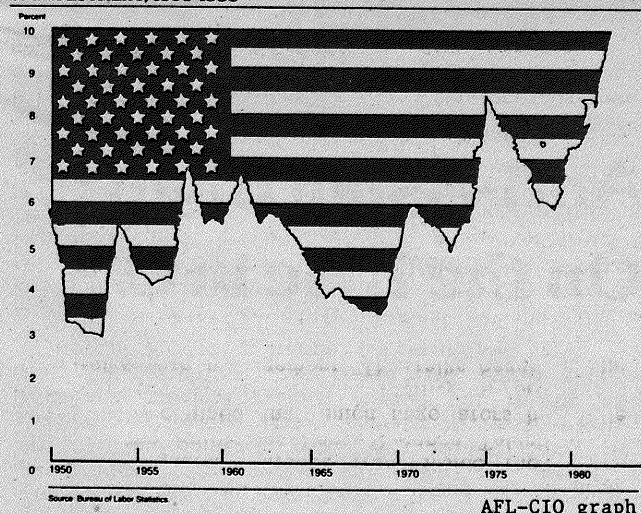
Manila, Phillipines—Shouting "We have no leaders! We are the leaders!" over 2,000 telephone workers barricaded a communications center on Oct. 20. They were protesting an alleged sellout by their union bosses. International and domestic phone services were disrupted.

"Our union sold us out," one said, as 60 armed police and guards watched from inside the blocked gates at the Phillipines Long Distance Telephone Co. The pickets claimed that union negotiators had failed to notify the workers at the facility of progress in wage talks with management. The talks began in May, 1982.

The workers said their original demands for a \$78.57 monthly pay raise had been eroded by two devaluations of the peso while negotiations had dragged on for 15 months. A speaker for the pickets, Levi Marquez, said that the 400 workers at the center were joined by workers from other branches of the phone company, which employs 11,000 in Manila. They marched together to the downtown office.

"The disruption is not very serious," said a company representative, Charlie Villa. Operator calls were delayed, but direct dialing to 22 countries remained unaffected by the strike.

UNEMPLOYMENT, 1950-1983



## AFL-CIO Proposal

## New Plan, Same Old Deal

by Bruce Arnold

This fall, delegates to the AFL-CIO annual convention adopted a paper entitled "Rebuilding America: A National Industrial Policy." The centerpiece of this proposal, which was prepared by the Industrial Union Department, calls for a federal government-formed National Industry Policy Board (NIPB.) This board would be composed of representatives from government, business and unions, and supported by an advisory board made up of consumer,

### NEWS ANALYSIS

environmental, academic, civil rights and other groups. Its goal would be "to help revitalization of the nation's sick industries and decaying communities while encouraging development of new industries."

The NIPB would seek to accomplish this goal in a number of ways. First, it would make and guarantee loans to industry. Second, it would work with existing federal agencies to target assistance in taxes, trade and other areas to promote development. Third, it would formulate "broad-ranging analyses and...specific recommendations toward further changes in law and policy needed to strengthen America's industrial base."

In addition to this board, the report proposes the establishment of a Reconstruction Finance Corporation (RFC), patterned after a similar agency set up



## Culina Protests

The nation's largest-ever culinary protest was pronounced "a sensational gastro-economic success" by its organizers, although it apparently fell far short of raising the \$110 billion the Administration has cut from human service programs.

The First National Let Them Eat Cake Sale, a series of locally planned bake sales to raise money and criticize Administration policies, got under way in over 60 cities in October with music, speakers, entertainment, carnival games, polemics--and cakes galore.

Strawberry Short Recovery Cake, Pentagon Sponge Cake, Half a Loaf Bread, Fudge the Budget Brownies, Chocolate Bargaining Chip Cookies and Half-Baked Policies Cake were among the many thematic pastries available, each slice of which was sold in special educational cakeboxes focusing on unemployment, hunger, war, the environment and other current issues. The boxes featured cartoons drawn by prominent cartoonists such as Jules Feiffer, Paul Conrad and Paul Szep.

"We're projecting that these past and future events will collectively raise several hundred thousand dollars," said Peter Harnik, national director of the campaign. "It's a far cry from the \$110 billion the Administration will have cut from human resources programs during its four-year term, but it will still be one of the largest single infusions of money into the depleted coffers of these hard-hit groups."

during the Great Depression. The RFC would "make, participate in, or guarantee loans to private business and local governments." It would operate under the "policy guidance" of the NIPB.

This report is not without its strong points. The first section, "Erosion of America's Industrial Base," is a concise and comprehensive overview of the present economic crisis in America and its effects on working people. With subsections such as "Economic and Social Destruction" and "International Trade and Investment--New Realities," it presents an accurate and at times scathing critique of current business and governmental economic practices.

It points out the emergence of a "two-tier society...with disastrous consequences for displaced communities and for women, minorities, and the young." This is attributed to the decline in well-paid blue-collar jobs and the increase in lower paid service-related occupations. "No society--certainly no great society--can survive asking its citizens to take in each others' laundry and sell each other life insurance."

But it is with such criticisms that the report's utility ends. In its interpretation of these grim realities and prescription for revitalization, the report suffers from myopia and inadequate comprehension of the social and economic forces underlying the impoverishment of working people and debilitation of the world's productive capacity.

(continued on page four)

## Khmer Pickers Join UFW

Eight Khmer tomato pickers joined the United Farmworkers Union (UFW) after being recruited to replace striking Mexican-American workers at Lagorio Farmers near Stockton, California. Indochinese workers formed the majority among 300 field workers hired by Lagorio's labor contractor after regular tomato pickers struck on July 19, demanding an increase in piecework wages from 35¢ to 50¢ for a five gallon bucket of tomatoes. Lagorio has paid the same rate for seven years.

Suon Sok, who joined the UFW after organizers were allowed into the fields on July 22, told the San Francisco Examiner that he and his wife together earned \$20 for a day's work. A spokesperson for the grower claimed workers earned \$30 to \$100 a day.

The UFW has traditionally been based among Mexican-American and Mexican farm laborers. In a context where Hispanic farm workers have been at the bottom of the labor market, the appearance of large numbers of Indochinese who can be recruited to replace them represents a major new development. The new recruits at Lagorio Farmers are only the first among a growing number of Indochinese farmworkers in California to join the union. Union officials predicted difficulties in communication since many UFW members speak only Spanish and many of the Indochinese speak only their own languages.

References to the boss, however, embellished with gestures, are easily communicated.

--adapted from Southeast Asia Chronicle, No. 90.

## Labor Troubles in Canadian Co-ops

by Pat Murtagh

Co-ops have come a long way from their early beginnings in the populist and socialist movements of the turn of the century. Since that time their growth, and the looming figure of the "transnational co-op," has led to a situation where the co-op seems almost as futile as that of "nationalization" in relation to socialist goals. Co-ops have become detached from their membership, and employees generally find conditions no better than in the private or government sectors.

The first picket line I walked, back in the 1960s, was at a co-op supermarket. The Retail, Wholesale, and Department Store Union (RW), a breakaway from the United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW), had begun a series of organizing campaigns that were to eventually make RW one of the largest unions in Saskatchewan despite its expulsion from the provincial Federation of Labour. They also made RW living proof that workers could secede from undemocratic international and yet still retain an effective fighting union.

So over 15 years later I watch with great interest as a similar drama unfolds in a different city. Federated Co-operatives, the umbrella for Saskatchewan's 191 retail co-ops, has been straining at the bit to "rationalize" its relations with both members and employees. Federated recently presented a brief to the provincial government calling for changes to the Trade Union Act and Labour Standards Act that have been denounced as "union busting legislation." Many of these were incorporated into law. Meanwhile, rural co-ops generally retain significant membership control, but outlets in urban centres have become virtual fiefs where changes are continually rammed through with little regard for the nominal owners' wishes.

At the annual spring meeting of the Saskatoon Co-operative Association, members attempted to have the city organization dissociate itself from Federated's anti-union views. Procedural finagling resulted in the matter being tabled, and a subsequent motion for a special informational meeting was also sidestepped. An attempt soon after to call a special meeting by petition, as provided by the co-op's constitution, was also stonewalled by management.

(continued on page four)



## Left Side



This past year has been a real binger and it keeps getting more interesting all the time. The ex-movie star who is now our top pie-card has proven to the World that he won't be calypsoed around by a bunch of Grenadians. None of this peace with honor jazz for Ronnie.

For those of you who are a little late in doing your Christmas shopping, there is a store in Texas that is giving some close competition to the famed Neiman-Marcus. For \$63,000, Sakowitz of Houston will write your biography. For \$50,000 a month you can have a 75 by 60 foot portrait of yourself on a billboard on Times Square in New York City. If your tastes are a little less ostentatious and you prefer keeping your ego-trip closer to home, a famous sculptor will do a life-size bronze statue of you for 60 grand. If you happen to be a cheapskate, the same thing can be done in plaster for only ten Gs. Neiman-Marcus appeals to the more plebeian tastes with such items as a \$2,750 dog house. If any of you readers decides to order through these establishments just make sure that what you buy is union-made and please renew your subscription to the Industrial Worker first.

If you have been phased out of work as an economy measure or had your wages cut down or negotiated down by your pie-cards to save the economy, it might comfort you to know there is still some humanitarianism despite the faltering economy. In the noble state of Virginia there is one dude on Death Row whose heart condition has gotten him a stay of execution. Earlier this year he suffered two heart attacks, causing him to be transferred from Death Row to an intensive care unit (under guard, of course) that is costing the Virginia taxpayers \$400 a day.

He is refusing to undergo an emergency heart operation that would cost the taxpayers another \$35,000. Understandably, having one's pump give out is a far preferable way of leaving this vale of tears than spending one's last moments being barbecued in the hot seat.

The reason the state of Virginia wants to spend 35 grand on this poor dude is to be sure he will live long enough to die in the electric chair. It is comforting to know that one lives in a Christian society.

Recently, one of the Fellow Workers was downtown passing out literature on the situation south of the border. The pamphlet, published by the Religious Task Force on Central America, was to let people know where the bite out of their paychecks is going. Along comes a mild-looking little man who accepts one of the leaflets, glances at it and immediately declares that it is communist propaganda. He further declared that he is quite familiar with insidious communist propaganda as he is a refugee from behind the Iron Curtain. He then tried to grab the rest of the literature out of the Fellow Worker's hands with the intention of taking both the literature and the Fellow Worker to the nearest policeman, only to be roughly pushed away. The little man hurriedly walked away and the Fellow Worker assumed that was the end of that and continued to pass out his literature.

A little later a squad car pulls up to where the Fellow Worker is passing out his tracts, disgorging two burly boys in blue and the same little man. The cops inform the Fellow Worker that the little man has sworn a complaint against him and that he is under arrest. The FW, thinking fast, told the cops that he was swearing a counter-complaint against the little man who was harassing him. The two bulls looked at each other quizzically. One went back to the patrol car to radio headquarters.

He came back telling his colleague, "Yeah, he can do that!" They informed the vigilant anti-subversive that since a counter-complaint was leveled against him, that they would have to take him in too, unless he was willing to drop his charges. The little man became very agitated and said, "No, no, I don't want to go to jail!"

The boys in blue said that was that, congratulated the two on settling things in a sensible manner and drove off to wherever it is that cops drive off to.

The Fellow Worker continued to distribute his literature to the crowd that had gathered. The refugee from behind the Iron Curtain loudly grumbled before walking away, "This is not fair. In MY country, police would arrest only him!"

C.C. Redcloud

## Janklow's libel suit

# The Ready Abuse of Power

by Penny Skillman

When Peter Mathiessen's book *In the Spirit of Crazy Horse* came out in March of this year, relaying a story which branded South Dakota governor William Janklow as the accused rapist of a young Native American woman, Janklow phoned several South Dakota bookstores and demanded that they discontinue selling the book. When the stores refused to do so, Janklow brought a \$24 million libel suit against three booksellers, as well as author Peter Mathiessen and Viking Press, which published the book. Viking then filed a countersuit against Janklow claiming that his suit had adversely affected the sales of the book.

According to the September 14 issue of *Publishers Weekly*, the American Booksellers Association (ABA) has sent a friend of the court brief on the side of the defendants in the libel suit filed by Janklow, which argues against Governor Janklow's motion to move the action from federal court to a state court in the county where he resides. The report states that the governor "fraudulently" included the small booksellers in his suit in order to obtain jurisdiction in his home county.

All defendants have maintained that the lawsuit brought by Janklow—who alleged that the booksellers

were guilty of malice and reckless disregard of the facts when they continued to sell *In the Spirit of Crazy Horse* after he had notified them that he considered the book libelous—should be tried in a federal court because the suit involves First Amendment issues.

This is an important event both in and out of the publishing environs, for as Maxwell Lillienstein, counsel for the ABA said, if Janklow's motion is sustained "...booksellers would unquestionably take the path of least resistance when urged by a public figure to discontinue sale of an allegedly libelous book—they would remove the book from their shelves."

Viking Press is asking that the suit against it be moved from the South Dakota state court to the U.S. District Court in Sioux Falls, with an ultimate objective of shifting the jurisdiction to U.S. District Court in Manhattan.

One can't help hoping that Mathiessen's monumental journalistic journey pointing to the goal of a retrial for American Indian Movement activist Leonard Peltier will resume center stage, or at least receive a boost of publicity. If nothing else, these trials should be an insight into how readily politicians will abuse power for personal purposes when there is no one to stop them.

A BLACK PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE WOULD DIVIDE THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY

Carol Simpson 6/1983

AS IF IT ISN'T ALREADY

BLACK VOTERS WILL IGNORE WHITE LIBERAL CANDIDATES

INSTEAD OF THE OTHER WAY AROUND

WHITE LIBERALS WILL BE THROWN INTO TOTAL CONFUSION

BLACK VOTERS WILL BE MORE UNITED THAN EVER

IT'LL BE THE END OF THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY AS WE KNOW IT

HOLD IT NOW—LET'S NOT BE OVER OPTIMISTIC

★ EDUCATION ★ ORGANIZATION ★ EMANCIPATION



AN INJURY TO ONE IS AN INJURY TO ALL  
ONE UNION ONE LABEL ONE ENEMY

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GENERAL SECRETARY-TREASURER  
David Tucker

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Contributing Editors: Carlos Cortez, Mike Hargis, Bruce Kayton, Dorice McDaniels, Gilbert Mers, Penny Pixler, Fred Thompson  
Contributing Artists: Carol Simpson, Bulbul

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## Anti-Asian Bigotry On the Rise in U.S.

U.S. capitalists are adroit in pitting groups of workers against each other, lest a united working class turn against the bosses. Bumper stickers screaming "Toyota-Datsun-Honda--and Pearl Harbor," "Hungry? Eat Your Foreign Car," and "Unemployment: Made In Japan" are what the bosses want. Bashing of Japanese cars at \$1 a slam, used in some Midwestern areas as a stunt to raise money for the unemployed, hurts not a hair on any boss's head.

But to Asian-American workers—especially to Japanese-Americans—this is a disturbing trend. They see the debate over the U.S.-Japan trade relations taking on a stridency with worrisome racial implications. And they fear that a developing anti-Japanese mood may make them scapegoats for deteriorating U.S.-Japan relations and continuing high U.S. unemployment.

As a race once subjected in the U.S. to both legal and informal restrictions on obtaining citizenship, owning land or intermarrying with caucasians—and the legal restrictions passed with the support of much of the labor movement on the ground that Asian-American workers "pulled down wages"—Asian-Americans now express both anger and fear that their hard-won gains may yet be threatened by a return to stereotypes and prejudice. A turning point for many was the beating death of Vincent Chin in Detroit.

In that June, 1982 killing, Chin, a Chinese-American draftsman, was beaten to death with a baseball bat by an auto worker and his son, who apparently mistook Chin for Japanese and accused him for being responsible for the high unemployment rate. After pleading guilty to manslaughter, the two perpetrators were put on probation and fined \$3,780.

Detroit's small Asian-American community expressed shock over both the death and the sentence, and was joined by civil-rights groups nationwide, including the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. With Japanese-Americans taking the lead, Asian-Americans are beginning to speak publicly against racist economic appeals.

plp



## How to Tell if Your Company is Trying to Bust Your Union:

1. Seniority is under attack through changes in jobs, new classification systems, or major changes proposed in contract language.
2. Small meetings of workers, or opinion surveys, are being conducted to "get ideas," "solve problems," or "improve communications."
3. Rumors or reports of possible plant closings are being spread.
4. Large numbers of new workers are being hired.
5. New supervisors are being hired, brought in from outside.
6. Management is trying to cultivate workers that will be loyal to them.

7. The company is proposing major contractual changes, but not bargaining.
8. The company has acquired new non-union operations.
9. The company has acquired new legal counsel. Check their background; they might be union busters.
10. The personnel director has changed. What's his/her background?
11. Union officers and stewards are being pressured, harassed, disciplined, or fired.
12. First line management is taking regular classes on "work standards," "labor relations," "communications," and the like.

(Reprinted from *Rebel Voices*, \$1 an issue from New York City IWW, c/o Semel/Poulos, 788 Columbus Ave., NYC, NY 10025.

## Cyanide Murder on the Job

From the outside, the Film Recovery Systems Corp. plant looked no different from many of the nondescript warehouses and factories in Elk Grove Village, a northwest suburb of Chicago. Illinois authorities, however, have brought murder charges against five managers of the company after the death of one worker from cyanide fumes. The building was described as "a huge gas chamber" operated with "total disregard for human life."

Each workday between 1980 and March, 1983, about 20 to 30 employees, most of them undocumented immigrants, worked in the building, extracting silver from used X-ray film. Among the by-products of the electroplating process was cyanide gas, used in some states for executions, and cyanide sludge, a poisonous waste that can be absorbed through the skin.

The building, designed for a warehouse, had neither windows nor fans. The workers were not provided with gloves or face masks. The company managers avoided the work area as much as possible, and in 1982 moved management operations to another building.

Because the Mexican and Polish workers could not read English, they could not understand the warning labels on the chemical containers; the universal poison sign of the skull and crossbones on the barrels of sodium cyanide had been painted over by management. All the employees suffered from headaches, dizziness and skin rashes, but in the words of one worker, "It smells in every factory. If you want to work, you have to put up with it."

In February, 1983, one worker, Stefan Golab, died of cyanide poisoning. His death triggered investigations that ended in October with murder charges being brought by the Illinois state attorney. Contacting ex-employees of Film Recovery Systems was at first difficult as the workers were afraid of immigration officials, but 50 of them have been tested for health problems due to chronic toxicity.

State authorities said they were unaware of the hazards at the plant because its operators had side-stepped inspections by misrepresenting the nature of their operations and had not secured the permit required for such a facility. The workers had never

heard of the Occupational Safety and Health Administration and, being in the country illegally, were not about to complain about possible safety violations to anyone in authority. Nor would they risk their \$4.50 per hour jobs by taking any sort of direct action on mere suspicion. So the racket went on until someone dropped dead.

Meanwhile state officials are trying to trace the 16 million pounds of cyanide-coated film chips the firm left in trailers at dump sites in Cook County and downstate Illinois.

plp

### WHY JOIN THE IWW?

Because there are things we can do together that we cannot do alone. Some of these things will benefit your job and some will merely benefit the human race. Whether we are in a position to get you a pay raise or not, your conscience will repay you and your self-respect will increase if you join with us to get things done.

Since we are a union, this offer is open only to those who work for wages or salary; but since we are building One Big Union, it is open to wage and salary workers whether they happen to bargain through other unions or not. Look at the directory on Page 7. If you can readily reach someone there, do so. If not, write to the General Secretary, IWW, 3435 North Sheffield, Chicago, IL 60657, with a line about your job. The initiation fee is \$5 in the U.S., and dues are \$5 a month.

## DID YOU NOTICE?

### State Child Abuse

As Michigan's depression-level unemployment drives demands for public assistance to new heights, the state has been forced to enact massive cuts in family planning, maternal and child health care programs. Infant mortality rates in some sections of Detroit, according to a study by the Department of Public Health, have now reached levels comparable to that of Honduras. Throughout the 60s and 70s, infant mortality in Michigan declined until it was slightly above the national average of 11.7 infant deaths per thousand live births. Starting in 1980 infant death rates rose from 12.8 per thousand to 13.2 per thousand. State officials, pointing out that most infant deaths are connected to insufficient weight gain at birth, link the rise in infant mortality to poor maternal health care and nutrition, as well as environmental contamination with toxic chemicals. Michigan has closed three public health clinics which served a total of 6,000 pregnant women and 15,000 children.

### Punishing the Victim

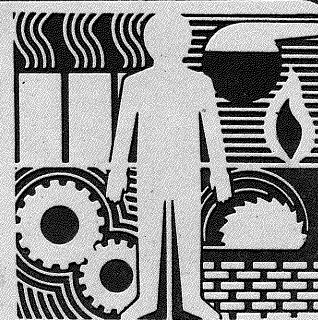
Workers at the American Pharmaseal Laboratories in Juarez, Mexico, face double jeopardy every time they have an on-the-job accident. Not only might they lose a finger or a toe, but they also lose their chance to win at Safety Bingo. Each day that there have been no injuries, the plant manager announces a Bingo number. When an accident does occur, the game is cancelled for a day to a month, depending on how much time the worker has to miss. This puts pressure on injured workers to return to work, so that their peers will be able to keep playing—first prize, \$15. (Reprinted from *Dollars and Sense*, no. 89.)

### Quack!

Al Hamburg, seven times contestant for Wyoming's lone seat in the U.S. House of Representatives, was recently charged with disturbing the peace at an MX environmental impact hearing. Every time a government expert would utter the official name for the MX, "Peacekeeper," Hamburg would stand up and make a noise like a duck.

Fred Thompson's

## labor in north america



1983, like 1931, was a tough year, a demoralized year, in which workers feared to strike against pay cuts lest their jobs would move away or be taken over by scabs. On November 3 alone 20,000 potential scabs lined up at Greyhound offices across the country hoping to replace the 12,700 bus drivers who were going on strike. Overhead, scabs flew planes.

But back in those Threadbare Thirties there was an awakening: workers were hungry, but they began to refuse to scab, and had little tolerance for neighbors who did scab. It was an awakening that came about because unions began to talk about something more than contract terms; they started projecting a better world in which workers would have something more to say. In 1984 unions once more need to assert their moral ascendancy or they will be smothered by scabs.

About half the union members in the United States are in nine large unions, yet lack the concepts that should accompany their size. There are 1.7 million teachers in the NEA, and Teamsters have about the same. By a series of mergers the old Meat Cutters has become the United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW) with 1.3 million. Layoffs have cut the United Auto Workers down from 1.4 million to about 1.1 million, and Steelworkers down to 800,000. Electrical Workers (IBEW) and the State, County and Municipal Employees have about a million each; Carpenters about 670,000, Service Employees 750,000 and Communication Workers 575,000.

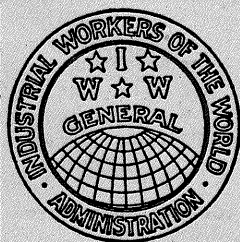
There is at least some technical modernization by unions. For their joint campaign to organize the 700 nursing homes run by Beverley Enterprises, Service Employees and UFCW have set up a toll-free information number: 1-800-BEV-CARE. United Farm Workers is modernizing its boycott of Red Coach and Friendly Lettuce with phone calls, laser printers, computers and high speed presses. In October unions in Pittsburgh, Seattle and Atlanta launched the Labor Institute Network, CableLINE, a million buck TV project. And Musicians are matching jobs and unemployed members by computer.

Department of Labor figures show that the few wage gains workers made in 1983 tended to run to less than cost of living increases, and there were big cuts. The Ford threat to close its River Rouge steel plant got a two-thirds acceptance vote for concessions that cost workers between \$4 and \$5 an hour. Workers at GM-Toyota in Fremont, California, gave up seniority. Bankruptcy dodges wiped out terms of existing contracts. Yet 90 percent of the Teamster rank and file rejected the concessions their bosses had negotiated for them, and copper miners trying to keep Phelps-Dodge concessions to the pattern they negotiated with the rest of the industry, tighten their belts while the militia guard the scabs. Union persistence can pay off: after 20 years J.P. Stevens agreed to give Allied Chemical and Textile Workers a million bucks for its defense fund to settle old claims, over and above the \$3 million in back pay it agreed to three years ago.

Tough times may require new tactics. To win an acceptable contract at Watts Health Foundation, Service Employees used public protests including street demonstrations to get public support for its union demands. It took ten months but it worked. Corporations have vulnerable spots: A strike by 3,200 workers at Chrysler's Twinsburg plant where they make floors and underbodies for its six other plants, tied them all up. We may need to look for more such Achilles' heels.

Chicago teachers, even with the backing of the 18 other crafts, had to close the schools for 16 days to get a 5 percent raise, plus extra days and a bonus to reimburse them for wages lost in the strike. With city treasuries drying up, teachers in many places can expect even tougher fights in the future. It would help if interested folks outside of their union would prepare lessons in advance for alternative schools tracing such things as local real estate history, or arithmetic questions on the distribution of income, music from labor songbooks, and outlines of local labor history. Preparation for alternative lessons in alternative schools might soften up some of the folks who tell school boards how much they dare offer.

Chemical Workers, Rubber Workers and the Painters got a \$2.7 million grant for training and education to curb cancer in the occupations they organize, and the Labor Department has granted \$818,000 to the union-run Rocky Mountain Labor School for job training for laid-off workers in the mountain states. One can dream up any number of projects that would make better use of tax dollars than building more H-bombs.



## OFFICIAL NOTICES

### Attention Bundle Subscribers

What do you do with the papers you order? Some folks receive from 5 to 500 copies of the *Industrial Worker* each month. We'd like to urge others to do the same, and help spread our message. Drop us a line and let us know how you distribute the IW. In a future issue we'll compile some of your good ideas. It might encourage some of the rest of us to distribute papers in ways we hadn't tried before. Thanks!

Dave Tucker  
IW Business Manager

### I.W. Article Reprinted in Germany

Tom Starr of Berlin, W. Germany, publishes a newsletter for "friends of the English language in Germany." He presents alternative and leftist material for young Germans in an easy-to-read format, with some translations inserted in small type above difficult or unusual words. In a current issue, he is reprinting an article from the May *Industrial Worker*, "Death Ship" by Michael Quirk, about the tragic and needless foundering of a ship off the coast of North Carolina. The staff of the IW wishes him the best of luck with his venture, and hopes the reprint of this article will spur interest in the IWW among our German fellow workers.

### Back Issues of Convention Minutes Available—Last Call!

We have left over copies of minutes for the 1980 and 1981 General Conventions. They're available for 50¢ each from the Chicago office. Unsold copies will be sent to the recyclers at the end of January. Does your branch library have copies?





## Lumber Strike, 1917

Correspondence between top officials of Weyerhaeuser, Merrill & Ring, Puget Mill and other lumber companies now lays bare the dishonesty of their patriotic palaver when they tried to crush the IWW. Robert E. Picken draws on this correspondence for his recent article in *Labor History*, "The Wobbly Horrors: Pacific Northwest Lumbermen and the Industrial Workers of the World, 1917-1918."

The aim of the IWW strike was to establish the eight-hour day and decent camp conditions: good food, shower and laundry facilities, and clean bedding so men would not have to carry their own blankets to the lumber camps. Response to the strike call was

excellent. Company managers lamented that the strike was so peaceful that it gave no excuse for calling on the army to break it. But they soon found a way to bring in the troops.

In those days airplanes were built of spruce, but the lumber companies preferred to log the more accessible Douglas fir, and the shortage of spruce became grounds for army intervention. The companies, this record discloses, actually welcomed the strike as it enabled them to reduce supplies and raise prices, and hope that a lumber shortage would get the government to crush the IWW. Before the strike the companies had avoided government lumber orders, but now they distributed such orders to their operations to provide grounds for the army to move in. The army started rounding up strikers and herding them into bullpens.

The IWW responded by transferring the strike to the job. In organized fashion the strikers returned to the camps, slowed down production by strict adherence to safety rules, and blew their own whistle after eight hours of work. If they got fired they went to other camps and repeated the procedure while their replacements did likewise.

The big companies tried to set policy for the smaller ones, but in the Inland Empire the eight-hour day was established and soon reluctantly accepted by West Coast companies. The government sent in Colonel Disque to take charge of its intervention based on its need for lumber for the war, and he set up

his company union, the Loyal Legion of Loggers and Lumbermen, or the "4 Ls."

Company correspondence shows that while the companies publicly welcomed Disque, he was somewhat of a nuisance to them, for his aim was production and theirs was profit. They were willing, however, to forego production and profit in exchange for government action to crush the IWW. The data in this study shows that Disque secretly approved of the IWW demand for the eight-hour day and better camp conditions, and his diary is cited as disclosing "secret meetings with IWW leaders"—which is news to this reviewer.

Picken concludes from this inside data that the lumber industry agreed to "the eight-hour day in exchange for a government crackdown on the Wobblies." Strangely, he adds: "Lumbermen traded something of modest significance for something of great consequence and emerged from the strike with a major triumph." Had Picken been a logger he would not think that the shift from a ten-hour day to eight hours, or the change in camp conditions, was a matter of small consequence. If cutting the hours didn't crimp exploitation, why not adopt a six-hour day now?

The cover of this issue of *Labor History* appropriately enlarges an IWW sticker. This quarterly is always filled with the sort of reading that can help us reckon better what works and what doesn't. Induce your local library to carry it.

Fred Thompson

# Unions Fight Bitter Battle Against Co-op Bosses

(continued from page one)

This latest arrogant move, part of a pattern dating back almost a decade—stores closing without membership approval, refusal to honour membership petitions to remove "anti-union" products from shelves, Members (CCCM) into being. The CCCM soon found itself locked in serious battle. Co-op records showed a plunge from an operating surplus of \$2.7 million in 1981 to a deficit of \$153,170 in 1982. Debt had increased to \$17.1 million, more than 70 percent of total assets.

Who to blame? Partly the depression, but, as Canada's *Financial Post* reported, a lot of the problem resulted from decisions to expand and renovate (often closing down older stores against membership protests) in a period of high interest rates and low consumer demand. Management responded by trying to pass the burden on to employees in union contract negotiations.

It didn't work. Faced with an offer of no wage increase for non-food workers, a slight increase for food employees and an astounding management rights clause, the 320 members of Local 1400 of the UFCW voted to strike. In Moose Jaw, another Saskatchewan city, the UFCW was also fighting a long and bitter battle against the co-op, a strike punctuated by periodic picket line violence. The co-op struggle now became an important test case for Saskatchewan labour, and other unions. Even the UFCW's arch rival, the RW, responded with unparalleled support.

The strike dragged on for three long months. Despite donations from other unions, strike pay was minimal. Workers became increasingly worried about being out on strike in the middle of a depression, especially as management, with the aid of scabs, kept many outlets open. Members gradually drifted back to work, and the strike became harder and harder to maintain. Finally, with almost one-third of their people back at work, Local 1400 voted to accept only a slightly better offer. The smell of defeat was obvious.

CCCM meanwhile had been dutifully canvassing co-op members to try and force management to call the special meeting they were required to summon on receipt of a petition with names of the lesser of 100 members or 10 percent of the membership. Three different petitions were snagged in legal death traps, but they got it right on the fourth try. The provincial Minister of Cooperatives ordered the Saskatoon Association to hold a special meeting to satisfy a petition which had gathered about 150 signatures.

It ended up, to say the least, a rowdy affair. The strike had ended by the date set but a lot of bitterness remained. Close to 3,000 of the Co-op's

31,000 members packed an auditorium to hear opposing sides better each other with tomes of Robert's Rules of Order and with other, less regular accusations. Management's financial record was dragged repeatedly over the coals, and its confrontational labour strategy was castigated. The Board of Directors responded by accusing the CCCM of a personal vendetta and of trying to take over the co-op on behalf of the union. Personal labels of "liar," "arrogant," "sneak" and so on flowed freely in both directions.

Considerable time allotted for debate on the petition's motion to oust the Board of Directors was wasted on procedural haggles. This time was reduced still further when management won a motion allowing the President to present a lengthy report, despite the fact that this was in clear violation of the constitution. He didn't quite pull it off as his audio-visual equipment developed sudden "technical difficulties." Being quick on the rebound he promptly forgot about the report and launched into a lengthy filibuster on the deficiencies of his opponents.

Not everybody present was sufficiently impressed by either side to vote. The final tally was 671 for ousting the Board and 1,265 opposed. Management won, just as it had won the strike. Why?

Battles like these are important because they point out glaring weaknesses in the tactics of unionists and other progressives. The charge of "union plot" had some validity in this situation. Other issues were involved, but CCCM's major thrust was in support of Local 1400. This wouldn't necessarily be so bad in a long range view. Any form of cooperative socialism will have to work out methods of workplace

**Battles like these are important because they point out glaring weaknesses in the tactics of unionists and other progressives.**

governance that balance the interests of consumer satisfaction and community input with worker self management.

From the position of now, however, this is a formula for defeat. Unions are far from advocating, in general, any broad vision of self-managed socialism. They are organs whose aim is to obtain "more" for their members. In restricting their activities to defense of their members they undermine that very ability should economic times be hard.

With a few notable exceptions, such as the Canadian Labour Council's campaign against high interest rates, major unions have shown little interest in the fate of the majority of workers who remain unorganized. This is to say nothing of other disadvantaged classes such as small farmers, pensioners, welfare recipients and the unemployed who are even more beyond the pale. This neglect has often come back to haunt unions when their enemies mobilize social forces (such as the large number of pensioners, poor people and farmers in the co-ops) against them. It is not enough to refer "other questions" to support for the New Democratic Party (NDP—a Canadian socialist party), or worse, for the Democratic Party.

There is also the matter of the dilettantism and coup d'etat mentality of the left. This is more than merely the latest proof of Zymurgy's Law of Voluntary Labour, that "people are always available for work in the past tense." It is a whole culture that is addicted to the overdramatic and that has developed the mistaking of shadow for substance to a fine art.

Sometimes you can win victories by packing a meeting. I can recall a heated conversation that I once had with a man who was seeking a nomination to run in a federal election. I told him in no uncertain terms why I would not rejoin the NDP to help in his conspiracy. Don't fault it, though. The man is now a member of parliament. In the byzantine world of social democratic politics one can often pull off a major coup, especially if the opposing faction is un-

popular with yet other factions within the party's mandarins.

Examples such as the co-op struggle are a different matter. Management was able to use the not unjustified resentment of older members against new members, many of whom really did not join merely for the meeting. Reform of mass organizations requires long and patient organizational work over a course of years. This may not appeal to the sense of drama of the average leftist. It may appear "reformist" or, more exactly, "boring," but it is absolutely necessary.

This also requires the sort of broader vision and long range view that is involved in opening up the unions to wider vistas. Leftists should no more shut themselves up in isolated cocoons of their own friends, only to emerge to attempt to demonstrate the power of their social circles (more restricted than they imagine), than unions should shut themselves up with the concerns of their own members. It is time to "go to the people," to humbly listen and patiently build the organizations needed.

## Same Old Deal

(continued from page one)

These deficiencies fall into two categories. First is the over-emphasis on rebuilding American industry, heedless of the cost to workers in other parts of the world. For one thing, such a policy is far from ensuring that competition between companies will not still spell lay-offs and suffering for the employees of unsuccessful corporations, wherever they may punch their time clock. For another, this policy, although not so stated in the report, depends on the purchase of cheap raw materials abroad, and subsequent sale of the manufactured goods in those same locales. This is no longer acceptable to many people in these countries, who will rebel against this expropriation. Eventually, this policy means American jobs depend on strong-arm tactics on a global scale, an expense we cannot sustain either morally or financially.

The second area in which "Revitalizing America" is blind is the question of who will really benefit from these policies. We can be sure only that the handful of men who control so much of the world's industry and finance capital will come off with pockets full. Beyond that, it's a roll of the dice. If you work for a successfully revitalized company, good for you. But if your mother and brothers and a neighbor or two all had jobs at the plant that went under, you've got a hatful of heartache on your hands despite your apparent good fortune.

And in either case, where is all the money for this venture coming from? Taxes, right. Where do taxes come from? Mostly from your income. The rest is from sales taxes (you pay them, too), corporate taxes (they just raise their prices accordingly, so you pay that, too), and so forth. The guys who make a profit are taking in more than they spend no matter what; the rest of us foot the bills, all of them, all the time.

People everywhere want to feed, house, clothe, educate, and entertain themselves and their families, same way in Japan or South Africa or Europe as in the United States. There's plenty of evidence that, if our factories and farms were geared toward the goal of meeting these needs, instead of producing maximum profits that only a few share in, material deprivation would soon be tamed.

But this can't be done by grabbing for all the marbles we can, as the AFL-CIO report suggests. The peace, comfort and security of anyone in a global economy depend on peace, comfort and security for all. When we stop doing the boss's dirty work and asking for peanuts in return, we will see where our common interests lie: across national borders, across racial or sexual boundaries, across divisions of craft or industry, with the many others who are willing to share the world's wealth equally.



## SUSTAINING FUND

DONATIONS TO THE IW SUSTAINING FUND  
Received in October, 1983

Gil Mers, Houston, Texas	\$14.00
Mike Keown, Missoula, Montana	2.00
Paul & Rochelle, New York, New York	25.00
Paul Cigler, Two Rivers, Wisconsin	5.00
Pasi Louhimies, Tampere, Finland	3.00
Bob Young, Dover Plains, New York	1.00
Footlocker Kid, Honolulu, Hawaii	5.00
T.W. Wilson, Lutz, Florida	2.50
George LaForest, Rockford, Illinois	5.00
Stan McAuley, Chicago, Illinois	21.00
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>\$83.50</b>

Thanks, fellow workers, for your kind support.





## Native American Resistance

### two portraits

by Arthur J. Miller  
(First in a Series)

"Under your system, you are taught greed, racism and corruption--and most serious of all, the destruction of Mother Earth. Under the Native American system, we are taught all people are brothers and sisters; to share the wealth with the poor and needy. But the most important of all is to respect and preserve the Earth, who we consider to be our Mother. We feed from her breast; our Mother gives us life from birth and when it's time to leave this world, who again takes us back into her womb. But the main thing we are taught is to preserve her for our children and our grandchildren, because they are the next who will live upon her."

Leonard Peltier

Most people know of Indian resistance in the past, but few realize that the resistance never ended and still goes on today. Since the days when the first Europeans stepped upon the land now known as America and instituted their social disease, state-ism, the Indian people have resisted European domination, robbery and genocide.

Norman Zigross, head of the FBI office in Rapid City, S.D., defended the Bureau's use of illegal actions against Indians, whom he viewed as a conquered nation: "The FBI is merely acting as a colonial police." He went on to say, "When you're conquered, the people you're conquered by dictate your future. This is a basic philosophy of mine. If I'm part of a con-

quered nation, then I've got to yield to authority." With this in mind, the story of Leonard Peltier is easy to understand.

In the summer of 1975 Leonard Peltier (Gwarthee-Lass, Prisoner of War of the Lakota and American Indian Movement [AIM] activist) and other Lakotas were setting up a sweat lodge near some elders in preparation for a Sun Dance that August. On June 26 the FBI invaded Lakota land at Pine Ridge on the pretext of merely wanting to serve a warrant on Jimmy Eagle, a teenager accused of trying to steal a pair of boots. FBI agents opened fire on a house near where the sweat lodge was being built. The Lakotas fought back and two FBI agents and one defender, Joseph Stuntz, were killed. The following day 175 FBI agents arrived accompanied by state troopers and Bureau of Indian Affairs police, and invaded Pine Ridge and Rosebud reservations, sacking houses and seizing 364 people for interrogation.

The Sun Dance was moved to the Rosebud and on the morning of Sept. 5, 100 FBI agents attacked the new camp. Amongst those who were arrested was Anna Mae Aquash, a 27-year-old Micmac Indian from Nova Scotia, who had been part of the Wounded Knee action. Aquash later testified, "I saw FBI agents standing there with M-16's and pistols. They just came in and--I don't know the proper word to use--raided or busted or just pillaged."

Aquash was told that she could clear herself if she named names. To which she answered, "You can shoot me or put me in jail. Those are the two choices I am taking." Then FBI terrorist David Price told Aquash that he would see her dead within a year. On February 24, 1978, a rancher found the composing body of Anna Mae Aquash, shot in the back of the head, executed.

Five months after the death of the two FBI agents Bob Robideau, Dino Butler, Jimmy Eagle and Leonard Peltier were indicted with aiding and abetting in the so-called murders. Both Robideau and Butler pleaded self-defense and were acquitted. The charges against Jimmy Eagle were dropped. Leonard was extradited from Canada where he had been held in chains in solitary confinement in Oakalla Prison.

Leonard was tried and found guilty on false and fabricated evidence and by the racism of the judge and jury. He is now in Marion penitentiary convicted of two counts of first degree murder with two life sentences.

Leonard's case is now at the 8th Circuit Court of Appeals where he is trying to get a new trial. Please write letters of support and request a new evidentiary hearing for Leonard. Send them to Judges Donald Ross, Gerald Heaney, and John Gibson, 8th

Circuit Court of Appeals, 1114 Market Street, St. Louis, MO 63101. Please send copies to Leonard Peltier, Box 1000, Marion, IL 62959, and to the Leonard Peltier Defense Committee, 7901 34th Ave. SW, Seattle, WA 98126. You can also send the Defense Committee \$10 for a subscription to their publication, Crazy Horse Spirit.

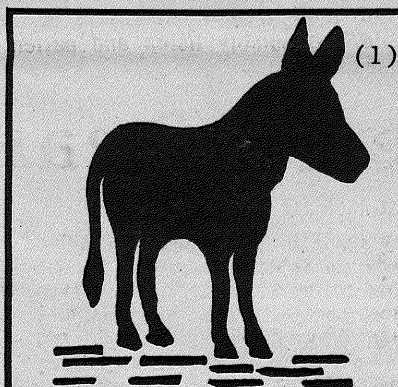
Rita Silk Nauni

Rita Silk Nauni is a 34-year-old Lakota woman whose struggle against the charges against her, and for speaking out about women's right of self-defense against violent men, her struggles against brutality in prison, her struggle to see her son and her defiant stand against racism, has become a rallying point for

Anna Mae Aquash was told that she could clear herself if she named names. She replied, "You can shoot me or put me in jail. Those are the two choices I am taking."

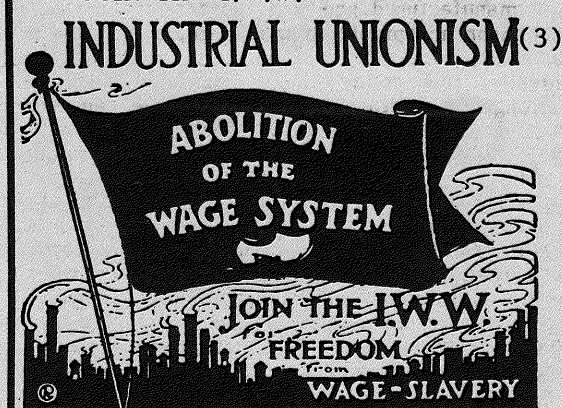
Indian women who refuse to be passive victims of violent abuse, racism, neglect and intimidation any more. The rights of women of color have been neglected to the point of being an institutionalized fact in our society. Rita is not alone in her struggle. There are many other Indian women who are standing up to their tormentors; to name a few, Paula Three Stars, Angie Whiterock, Yvonne Swan and Raven Darkwing.

Rita was arrested for defending herself and her son from the violent abuse of airport police in Oklahoma. One of the police died and Rita was nearly beaten to death, then tried and convicted by a racist court and given a 150-year prison term. Since that time Rita has been trying to get a new trial and has been fighting for the right to see her son. Rita is a member of the Survival Network. She has written many times about her solidarity with other struggles and the need to save Mother Earth. Some Network members are organizing a support network for Rita. For more information on Rita and what you can do to help, and more information on other woman prisoners in need, write: Rita Silk Nauni Support Network, c/o Bonita Alexander, PO Box 712, Wabash, IN 46992.



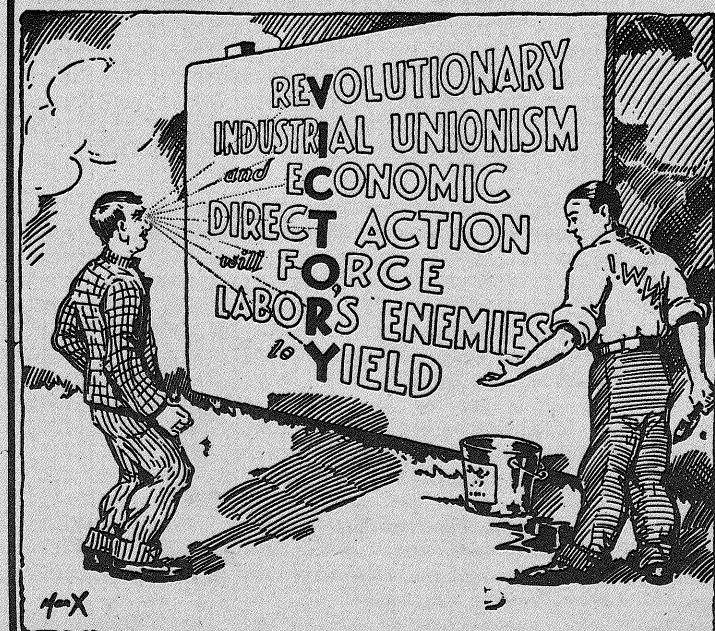
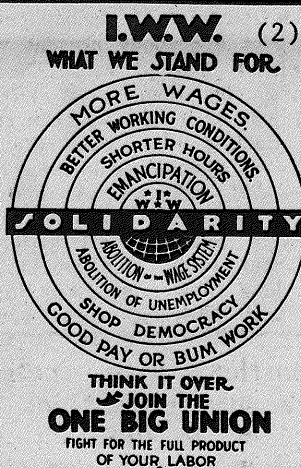
He Belongs to No Union  
the Ass!

JOIN THE I.W.W.



## SILENT AGITATORS

A limited supply of these gummed stickers is available from our Chicago office. They are red and black, and cost 2¢ apiece. Please order by number.



### Preamble of the Industrial Workers of the World

The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace so long as hunger and want are found among millions of working people and the few, who make up the employing class, have all the good things of life.

Between these two classes a struggle must go on until the workers of the world organize as a class, take possession of the earth and the machinery of production, and abolish the wage system.

We find that the centering of the management of industries into fewer and fewer hands makes the trade unions unable to cope with the ever growing power of the employing class. The trade union fosters a state of affairs which allows one set of workers to be pitted against another set of workers in the same industry, thereby helping defeat one another in wage wars. Moreover, the trade unions aid the employing class to mislead the workers into the belief that the working class have interests in common with their employers.

These conditions can be changed and the interest of the working class upheld only by an organization formed in such a way that all its members in any one industry, or in all industries if necessary, cease work whenever a strike or lockout is on in any department thereof, thus making an injury to one an injury to all.

Instead of the conservative motto, "A fair day's wage for a fair day's work," we must inscribe on our banner the revolutionary watchword, "Abolition of the wage system."

It is the historic mission of the working class to do away with capitalism. The army of production must be organized, not only for the every-day struggle with capitalists, but also to carry on production when capitalism shall have been overthrown. By organizing industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old.

## Literature

### theoretical:

[ ] IWW Organizing Manual . . . . .	\$ .75
[ ] Collective Bargaining Manual . . . . .	.75
[ ] IWW Preamble and Constitution . . . . .	.30
[ ] Inflation: Cause and Cure . . . . .	.25
[ ] General Strike for Industrial Freedom . . . . .	.50
[ ] One Big Union . . . . .	1.00
[ ] Unions and Racism . . . . .	1.00
[ ] Metal Workers' Guide to Health and Safety on the Job . . . . .	.50

### historical:

[ ] The IWW's First 70 years (hardbound) . . . . .	\$15.00
[ ] The IWW's First 70 years (paperback) . . . . .	4.95
[ ] History of the IWW in Canada . . . . .	.50
[ ] Lucy Parsons: American Revolutionary . . . . .	4.50
[ ] Pullman Strike . . . . .	2.95
[ ] Autobiography of Mother Jones . . . . .	4.95
[ ] The Right To Be Lazy . . . . .	1.25
[ ] Joe Hill: IWW Songwriter . . . . .	1.00
[ ] Eugene V. Debs: Spokesman for Labor and Socialism . . . . .	5.95

[ ] Founding Convention of the IWW . . . . .	\$15.00
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### musical:

[ ] IWW Songbook . . . . .	\$1.00
[ ] The Rebel Girl (sheet music) . . . . .	.50
[ ] Workers of the World Awaken (sheet music) . . . . .	.50

### posters (lino-graphics):

[ ] Joe Hill . . . . .	\$5.00
[ ] General Strike . . . . .	5.00
[ ] Huelga General . . . . .	5.00
[ ] Draftees of the World Unite! . . . . .	5.00

Note: It costs about 80¢ to mail a poster or a sheet of music in a tube, so please do not send orders for music or posters of less than \$2.

### miscellaneous:

[ ] General Defense Button . . . . .	\$ .35
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### LITERATURE DISCOUNT POLICY

Bulk orders of five or more of any item on the IWW literature list may be ordered at a 40% discount if orders are pre-paid. We offer a 30% discount on similar orders which we must invoice. Postage will be added to all orders that are not prepaid. Please allow three weeks for delivery.

Available from Local Groups and Branches:

Available from New York IWW:  
A Worker's Guide to Direct Action, 50¢  
PO Box 183, New York, New York 10028

Available from the Tacoma-Olympia Branch, 2115 S. Sheridan Ave., Tacoma, WA 98405: *Fellow Union Member*, 10¢ each; bundles of 5 to 15, 5¢ each; 15 to 499, 3¢ each; 500 or more, 2¢ each.



## Views ...

### Tales of Bagging and being Bagged

Bemis Brothers Bag Company. Without doubt it still functions in its hoary, drab citadel that sprawls in the heart of San Francisco's manufacturing district. To its warrens of bustling activity I was enticed during World War II.

Hundreds of women were busy making burlap bags for shipping food. Upstairs, the throb and thump of machinery informed me of the metamorphosis of hempen material into stiff burlap cloth. I was installed in the finishing department downstairs. Every seamstress hemming burlap bags was assigned a clipper, a woman who cut the cord joining one bag to the next. I stood in a stall at a low metal table where the finished bags hurtled out of the sewing machine. At my right was the sharp cutting edge of the table which clipped the cord. Flip, clip, stack--pile those sacks--flip, clip, stack--snarled the machine.

About two weeks passed, and I had mastered the rhythmic coordination of arms and fingers. My back ached after hours of stooping, swaying in unison with the tumbling bags. Eight grueling hours a day,

six days a week.

Two more weeks and my eyes began to glaze. Dangling light bulbs took on a life of their own, great blobs suspended in space. The humming sewing machines blurred human voices and chanted a litany. Flip, clip, stack--pile those sacks--flip, clip, stack.

Never mind the backache! Faster, faster lest the finished bags pile up and dangle off the table onto the floor. Fleas mingled with the burlap dust, infiltrated my hair, my skin, my clothing. No time to scratch. Scratch at night instead of sleeping. Flipclipstack. Flipclipstack. Flipclipstack!

Six weeks. When I wasn't scratching at night I was stacking. Flipclipstack. Flipclipstack.

Then calamity, or deliverance (whichever way you want to read it) struck from on high. I was clipped! I had refused to buy war stamps on payday, and the union stewardess had me sacked. Though not in a burlap bag!

Dorice McDaniels

## readers' soap box

### Response from England

Fellow Workers:

I read, with not a little disgust, the "Letter from England" of the August issue of the Industrial Worker. The writer, who signed the letter "An Individualist Worker," displayed a certain degree of knowledge concerning anarcho- and revolutionary syndicalism, having stated that he had been a member of the Direct Action Movement-International Workers Association (DAM), and also that he had read some IWW material. Yet he then goes on to moan that the unions in Britain are reformist (they have never claimed to be otherwise!) and that an individual is as good as any union against the reaction which the British working class is now facing. I wonder if the bloke has any conception of socialism and revolutionary unionism at all despite his previous activities.

In Britain today there exist three organizations which propagate revolutionary unionist ideas: the Direct Action Movement, the Syndicalist Alliance, and your very own IWW British Administration. Each of these groupings believes that the only effective force that can challenge the state capitalist system is that of labour organised on the job in a fighting organization whose methods are direct action and whose aim is free socialism. Not one of them has any illusions about the existing unions nor of the tasks ahead which face the British working class. But we (I am a member of the Syndicalist Alliance, incidentally) realise that the trade unions form the last line of defence for our class.

We also view them as being the future economic fighting organisations of our class when the British workers take up once again the banner of revolutionary syndicalism.

It is no use throwing our hands up the air crying "It's useless, the capitalist state is too strong, and the unions are so reformist," and merely dream about what could be. We, as workers and revolutionary unionists, must be realistic enough to face the present crisis and to line up shoulder to shoulder with our fellow workers be they reformist or not, to defend our unions and our class. Working "on a one to one basis as individual catalysts for change," as our "Individualist Worker" put it, is not enough.

Solidarity Forever!  
Gary L. Harter  
Harlow, Essex, England

### Dogs' Togs and Other Nonsense

Not so many evenings back, a TV newscast included a segment on "togs for dogs." You can get, among other items, a pullover, or whatever the hell it's called, to "dress up" your dog for prices ranging from \$200 and up.

In light of the fact that abject poverty is forcing some U.S. citizens to include dog food in their diet because they can't afford better-with the situation far worse in the Third World and other countries--such extravagant spending for such nonsense becomes obscene. I suspect that it is also inhumane to the animal forced to wear such trappings.

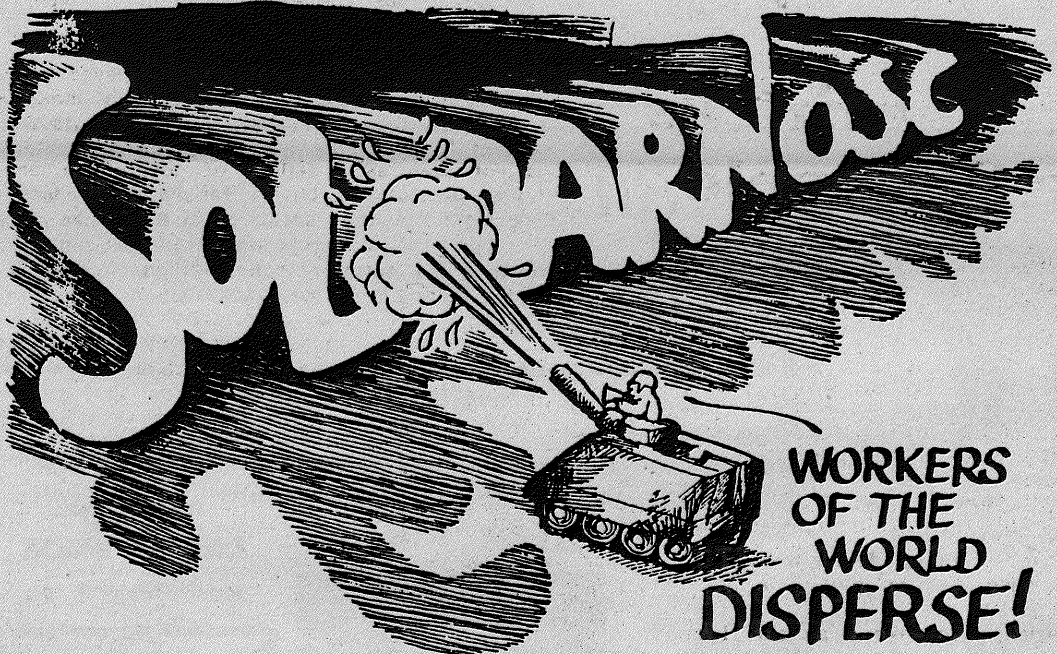
And, please, don't anybody tell me about how the people employed in making such frigging rigging

are relieving the unemployment picture. I'm just not in the mood for that hype today.

So what's a subject like this doing in a labor paper? Well, let's say that it's welcoming a vision into the future, when working people have finally gotten most of their marbles together and have acted collectively to educate and convince dog-dressing and other "society" parasites that producing for the common welfare is a much more satisfying way of living than idle, ostentatious display of unearned wealth.

I wouldn't kid you. It is the historic mission of the working class.

Pervicacia



## Solidarity As Seen Through Its Own Eyes

The **Solidarity Sourcebook**, Stan Persky and Henry Flam, translators and compilers. Paperbound, \$7.95 Canadian. New Star Books, 2504 York Ave., Vancouver, B.C. V6K 1E3 Canada.

On August 31, 1980, a new union was born that in many respects put into practice the program of the IWW.

This new union was "One Big Union" embracing nearly every job and profession. It was a union intimately involved with most aspects of community life. It was a union which was non-political, but which stood firmly against illegitimate authority in every form--whether on the shop floor or at the highest levels of the nation-state.

This new union, of course, was Poland's independent self-governing trade union Solidarity. One problem with Solidarity for Wobblies has been a lack of basic information about it. Too many descriptions of Solidarity have come to us through the biased prisms of the usual commercial news sources, or via various left-wing or right-wing interpretations of Polish events.

For anyone interested in listening to Solidarity speak for itself, New Star Books has now brought out **The Solidarity Sourcebook**. This attractive volume offers translations of primary Solidarity documents and interviews not otherwise readily available.

The complete text of the the Gdansk agreement is here, as well as a moving interview with Jerzy Janiszewski, the graduate student who designed the now-famous Solidarity logo during the Lenin Shipyard strike.

Leaflets issued by various branches of the union are reprinted, as well as internal and external position papers. Here is found the text of the Lodz agreement

of 1981, which set the stage for self-governing universities in Poland. Reprinted articles also deal with the rise of the women's movement in Poland.

Transcripts of a meeting of Solidarity's national committee following the attack on Solidarity members and peasant representatives at Bydgoszcz are included. At this meeting we read of the arguments for and against the calling of a national general strike.

This reviewer found every page fascinating. What I saw here that I never got through news reports or "interpretations" of Solidarity is the sense of what it means to participate in a functioning One Big Union, to work with people of many divergent ideas and opinions united by a common dream of a self-governing workplace in a self-governing community.

The **Solidarity Sourcebook** reminded me that Polish union activists had watched Hungarians crushed in 1956, Czechs crushed in 1968, and their own government brutally attack workers struggling for a better deal in 1956, 1970 and 1976. Solidarity activists were determined not to repeat mistakes if they could help it.

In Poland, some particular national problems that helped shape Solidarity are evident from the text of the **Sourcebook**. The rhetoric of the Polish state, as in most authoritarian communist countries, is that workers are already in control. Solidarity thus had to expose the ways in which the nation is in fact ruled by the Communist Party instead. With accurate and biting Eastern European humor, Solidarity describes the Party as "the trade union of the power structure" rather than representing workers' interests.

The national situation in Poland led Solidarity to sharply define the difference between state ownership of the means of production, and social ownership

of those enterprises. "The means of production maybe owned by the state but this does not mean that they are thereby the social property of the working class," as one document puts it.

Such a distinction led Solidarity, during its first national congress, to state its non-political nature in a way I believe most Wobblies would describe the nature of the IWW: "Whereas a party political program seeks to convince electors that it, were it only to hold the reins of power, would be capable of improving the population's lot and fulfilling its aspirations, Solidarity makes no such claim. The draft program explicitly situates society's advancement in the context of its own self-organization. While political parties seek to gain political and economic power, Solidarity seeks to restore this power to society."

Much additional information and food for thought is contained in **The Solidarity Sourcebook**. We observe the union, warts and all, grappling with questions of internal democracy, centralization versus decentralization as applied to the union, to geographic regions and to industrial development. We read debates on whether workers exercising management functions should or should not be considered union members. The question of wages as an interim measure while society and production are being reorganized democratically is discussed.

The compilers have done an excellent job in making so much primary material on Solidarity available to English-speaking people. I found much here to ponder, not only in connection with Poland, but also in connection with the task of building One Big Union here in the 1980s.

Tom Wayman



## ... and Reviews

## Beating the Concession Rap

Concessions and How to Beat Them by Jane Slaughter, paperbound, \$4.50, LERP, PO Box 20001, Detroit, MI 48220

Last year nearly 25 percent of North American unions accepted wage cuts and other concessions. Regardless of what union you belong to, or if you are in a union at all, you have been affected by the concessions wave. Employers are on the offensive with a whole new arsenal to force workers to accept a reduced standard of living: robots, Reaganomics and run-away shops. Jane Slaughter's new book outlines a trade union response to these new problems.

The best portions of the book tell what methods various trade union locals have tried to resist employer demands for take-aways. The most successful of these was carried out by United Electrical Workers Local 277 at Morse Tool, a subsidiary of Gulf and Western. With research by the Industrial Cooperative Association proving a pattern of disinvestment at Morse, the local was able to win the sympathy of the surrounding New Bedford, Massachusetts community. A skillful public relations campaign brought in financial support from labor and community groups, which tided the Morse workers through a 13-week strike. Gulf and Western finally gave in and withdrew its concessions demands.

Slaughter summarizes the lessons of this and of other anti-concession campaigns:

1. Keep up to date on the state of your employer's business, particularly any changes that could mean disinvestment.
2. Demand substantiation of the employer's claim to need concessions--open the books, don't reopen the contract.
3. Educate the membership about the state of your industry, what concessions fever means to the labor movement, and what effect concessions would have (or not have) on the employer's health, the union's health, and paychecks and working conditions.

## Hittin' the Bricks In the Big Apple

I've been looking for a clerical job for three weeks now in New York City and it's incredible what our wonderful employers are doing. The latest thing I've encountered in over half the jobs I've interviewed for is the elimination of the 40-hour work week. Working from 8:45 AM to 5 PM with a 45-minute lunch hour or 9 AM to 5:30 PM with a half an hour lunch are all part of the "new math" of the recession.

And when you call up for an appointment, be prepared to give your life history. One guy wanted my birthdate, so I said "1959." "No, I need your birthdate," he insisted. "June of 1959," I replied. "Look, I need your birthdate," he said. "Why?" I asked. "Bye," he said, and hung up. What was he going to do, run an FBI check before giving me an appointment?

Job applications also take away our rights more and more. On the bottom of one, where you have to sign your name under a statement saying, "I swear the above is true and falsity is grounds for dismissal," was an extra little addition: "...and I agree to buy the group insurance plan offered by the company."

Sometimes I have to meet the owners if the company is small and these interviews are extremely embarrassing. The owners are inarticulate and don't know what to say to a human being who doesn't have a business proposition to make. Though one pair of husband and wife sweatshop owners did give me a whole pep talk on how "we're all a team here," and "we personally work 12 hours a day." Fine, I thought to myself, then pay yourselves the same disgusting rate you pay the rest of "the team."

Many times you can tell what a company thinks about its workers by the space they shove them into for most of the day. On one interview I was taking a typing test in an immaculate office, but the cramped quarters I was in bothered me. "Is this the space I'd be working in?" I asked the business manager with a frown on my face. "No, that's my space. This would be yours," she replied, pointing to an area half the size of my current one that a dog would have trouble fitting in.

There was one job, though, that paid a decent salary, had good benefits, a nice-sized office, and not too much work to do. You might say that they made me an offer I couldn't refuse, and if that conjures up an image of a certain crime syndicate, you're right on target. It was a job with the Teamsters Pension Fund, the most honest place to work since the Presidential Commission on Central America. Needless to say, I didn't take it.

But through all this painful job-hunting, time spent without pay, trudging around in a hot New York City summer, there is an old proverb I always remember: The only thing worse than looking for a job is finding one.

Bruce Kayton

4. Present an alternative to the employer's demands, whether it's just refusing to reopen the contract, or demanding investment in modern equipment, or raising the idea of conversion to a more salable product.

5. Develop ties to other unions at other plants to avoid competing with each other for jobs.

6. Let the employer know you're willing to strike.

7. Take your case to the community and to the area labor movement. Show how it is in their interests to support your fight.

8. Check out possibilities for legal action.

9. If you're forced to make concessions, make them short-lived, recoverable, and equitable. Demand whatever benefits you can in return.

Corporations like U.S. Steel would profit immensely from nationalization of their plants. It cannot be over-emphasized that public control is not the same as worker control.

My main criticism of the book is that for all its calls for militancy and all its anti-capitalist rhetoric, it stays within the limits of the bureaucratic status quo. Workers are advised to seek help from the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB), get new laws passed, bargain over "model contract language," elect new public and union officials, and, that great left-wing panacea, build a "labor party." Slaughter gives examples of how workers have been let down by the NLRB, plant closure laws, union officials and politicians, but she never draws the obvious conclusions. She neglects to mention how the French Socialist Party is imposing its own version of Reaganomics in France. The concessions wave is not seen as a failure of government and trade union institutions, but a failure of leadership just waiting for a little backbone to set things right.

Some of the proposals given for ending concessions could actually make workers worse off. Take the suggestion for nationalization of industry to ease unemployment. The experience in France demonstrates that nationalization only provides former owners with millions in tax dollars to invest elsewhere. Corporations like U.S. Steel that have already shown a desire to get out of the steel industry, would profit immensely from the nationalization of their plants. It cannot be overemphasized that public control is not the same as worker control. Government employers have been no more sympathetic to giving up managerial power and privileges than private capitalists.

The concessions wave is in part a product of the isolation of the ordinary worker. Officials, whether public or union, cannot be relied upon to defend worker interests. It is unfortunate that Slaughter did not spend more time discussing what workers could do to fight concessions directly, how to take action even when their "representatives" were prepared to collaborate with the employer. Practically nothing at all is said of sympathy strikes on a multi-shop, multi-union, or international level. One can't help but get the impression that Slaughter is talking more to the local level union officer than to the person behind the machine or at the typewriter.

Yet for all these criticisms, I would still recommend the book. The practical experiences detailed are a useful starting point for any group of workers confronted by concessions. Just keep a few grains of salt handy when you read it.

Jeff Stein

## Finnish IWW Literature?

Dear Comrades:

I am a Finnish book collector and interested in old Finnish-language labor literature, particularly IWW material printed in America in the beginning of the century (books, leaflets, pamphlets, magazines, postcards, posters, etc.)

I'm also interested in corresponding with IWW members of Finnish descent, either in English or Finnish.

I have enclosed a few bucks to support your activities. Good luck!

Pasi Louhimies  
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33200 TAMPERE 20  
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# The Long, Hard Journey of 'Gregorio Cortez'

by Eugene Nelson

In Robert M. Young's beautifully-filmed *The Ballad of Gregorio Cortez*, the hero, sensitively portrayed by Edward James Olmos, is pursued on horseback for hundreds of miles by a posse of Texas Rangers in one of the great chases of movie history. Now the award-winning director and the principal actors are traveling thousands of miles to promote the unique bi-cultural film in front of movie houses all across America in an effort that dwarfs the real-life protagonist's 1901 marathon flight.

The film is shot through with ambiguities. Was the fatal gunfire that sent Cortez into headlong flight really caused by an error in translation from Spanish to English? By the cruel and overwhelming prejudice of Texas Anglos against Chicanos? Or by other factors? How much grudging respect did the relentless pursuers really feel for their prey? Is the film more apt to create better relations between Chicanos and Anglos, or stir up old animosities?

The 58-year-old Young with his specialty of films that attempt to bridge the gap between different cultures seems to welcome uncertainty and controversy.

A better known project of Young's with which he got into trouble is the internationally-acclaimed 1978 feature-length film *Alambrista* (Wire-Jumper), which tells the story of a Mexican undocumented immigrant's misadventures in the United States, and whose cast also included the highly-talented Eddie Olmos. Young got booted out of Tijuana by Mexican officials when he tried to film the squalid conditions in a Mexican slum.

Nor was the evolution of *The Ballad of Gregorio Cortez* exactly a bed of roses, Young recalls. "My close friend the folklorist Alan Lomax had already told me what a powerful and fascinating story it was," he said. "But when Eddie Olmos came to me and asked me to do the film with him, I had serious reservations. I thought it was more appropriate that a Chicano director do it, and I mentioned a couple. I had just been offered a couple of highly profitable directing jobs by big studios...but I wasn't really that crazy about the scripts. When Eddie insisted, I finally agreed."

"A writer worked on the script for two years and wrote seven or eight versions of the screenplay. But suddenly it was only three weeks until the time we had to begin shooting and I still wasn't satisfied with it. It was all linear. I asked if things had really happened to Cortez that way and I was told 'Well...maybe.' We didn't know exactly what had happened. We had versions of what happened. So the honest thing was to let different people tell their versions of what happened."



Romaldo Cortez (Pepe Serna) and his brother Gregorio (Edward James Olmos) are confronted outside their home by local authorities.

It was the series of flashbacks representing different versions of events Young refers to--as in the classic *Rashomon*--which gave *Gregorio Cortez* its form and texture and provided most of its fascination, as well as much of its psychological truth.

Lead actor Olmos perhaps summed up the significance of the film best: "It's one of the very first major U.S. motion pictures with a Chicano as the hero." Perhaps the film's chief virtue is that it shows that people of different cultural background are more similar than different. There is a marvelous scene in which the fugitive Cortez and a solitary Anglo cowboy he encounters spend several hours together enjoying each other's company even though they speak no common tongue.

When I asked Young about his philosophy of filmmaking he said, "I go to life. I want to play the facts. Before I filmed *Alambrista* I had never seen the life we saw out in the fields on the screen. I want to bring the drama of the commonplace to

people. I want to bring to people these heroes and heroines of our daily lives. I want to make flesh and blood people out of the dry statistics...so people can no longer say 'Damn this' or 'Damn that.' Most of my films have dealt with the jump between one culture and another. I'm interested in taking people into experience. Also, film to me is close to dreams and memory. I want to present a heightened reality, the dynamics of life that affect people, life's intersections. And let people draw their own conclusions about it. I want to promote films about different things than those made by the big studios that cater to the lowest common denominator of public taste."

I asked Young, "Have any of the people involved resented all this work on promotion? Don't you feel this kind of work has a deleterious effect on an artist's art?"

"But it's all voluntary," said Young, seeming surprised at my question. "No one here was asked to do this. It all started when Eddie Olmos voluntarily rented a theater in Los Angeles out of his own pocket to show the movie free. And I think it's good for artists to stay in touch with their audience. As far as taking artists away from their work, if we can put this film over, it will pave the road for others and there will be more work available on films like this on Chicanos next year. If we can prove a film like this can make money than we're not fools..."

"Any future projects?"

More youthful sparkle came into Young's eyes. "One project is for a film called *Tom Mix and Pancho Villa*, based on a book by that name. Eddie Olmos would play Villa. It's the story of a young Anglo coming of age during the Mexican Revolution, and I think it's an analogue of U.S.-Mexican relations."

"I'm also involved in a project concerning a woman I knew in New Guinea and her encounters with so-called 'primitive' people. It's about her trip into the interior of the country, and the trip becomes a metaphor for a trip into her unconscious. Also I'm working on an American Indian story."

Patches of cool late evening fog were beginning to roll in like tumble-weeds through the long streets. It was time for the Young and Olmos gang to take up their stations in front of the Four Star Theater to lie in wait for exiting viewers.

The patrons, many of them Chicanos, came out and did double takes. Some came close to chat or jot down comments and put their names on a mailing list. Young and his unpretentious companions with their easy camaraderie seemed a down-to-earth and likable group as evangelists go; their gentle enthusiasm seemed infectious. Perhaps the battle was not so dubious after all. I remembered the words of an old social activist: "The goal is well worth striving for, but in the struggle itself lies the happiness of the fighter." Their film just might become a "success" and a watershed in increasing understanding between Anglos and Chicanos.

## Assault on the Working Class

by Warner Woodworth

The 1980s are likely to go down as one of the most anti-labor decades in U.S. history. Ronald Reagan personally led the assault with the obliteration of the air traffic controllers' union. Then executives in boardrooms across the country clamored for contract concessions, a phenomenon which has been going on for three years as a concerted attempt to extract givebacks by cutting wages, cost of living increases, holidays, sick pay, health insurance and so on. Every conceivable legal manipulation to bleed the working class has been attempted by the power elites.

Runaway plants have decimated many cities in the North East and Great Lakes industrial regions. Nor are the "growth states" immune. California, for example, has lost 100,000 manufacturing jobs in the past three years from 562 business shutdowns. Absentee owners have boarded up thousands of firms, abandoning related businesses and leaving local communities on the verge of collapse. The tension between reduced tax bases and increased demands for the delivery of social services is manifest in problems faced by the newly unemployed: mental depression, spouse and child abuse, alcoholism, suicide, crime, etc.

Recent efforts to accelerate the assault on labor have taken on a severe aspect. In Arizona, Phelps Dodge Corporation has mounted a vice-like lockout of workers, brought in scabs under police protection, and pitted trade unions against each other. In a more bizarre strategy, companies like Wilson Foods and Continental Airlines have declared bankruptcy and unilaterally cut workers' wages by 40 to 50 percent.

These outrageous tactics must be dealt with by an aggressive struggle. Further attempts to give in to management requests for help in troubled industries will not benefit the workers. What is needed is direct action on a mass level, now more than ever before. What are some options?

First and foremost is the general strike, or at least an industry-wide strike. In the case of Continental, one picketing pilot in Denver told me, "What we need now is a pilots' union, a flight attendants' union--not associations." The way to counter an ego-maniac like Frank Lorenzo of Continental is for all U.S. pilots to halt air travel until the union-busters cave in. The need here is for greater solidarity among workers of different companies as they face up to the common enemy.

A second form of struggle is to demand and bargain for management concessions. If givebacks are such a good thing for industry, then big-salaried executives should be the ones to take a cut. Countervailing bargaining which presses for white collar layoffs, reductions in salaried benefits, and equality of sacrifice is at least a protective measure to deflect some hatchet blows onto management. In several instances auto workers and electrical workers have forced management concessions to roughly approximate those of the workers. While this approach may not be a solution, it spreads the pain more equitably.

A third strategic response to the current crisis is to turn the threat of overwhelming problems into opportunities for workers' control. A number of creative solutions to imminent plant closings and unemployment difficulties have led to new forms of worker empowerment and economic self-determination. For example, in 1981 in Clark, New Jersey 900 workers bought their jobs through a stock ownership buy-out from General Motors. They have since created an additional 400 new jobs, hold three seats on the board of directors, and have eliminated a number of salaried privileges such as executive bonuses.

Likewise, in Iowa, approximately 2,000 meat-cutters have become 60 percent owners of the Rath Packaging Company, an aging meat processing operation which was on the verge of bankruptcy. In the past several years the workers have gained 11 of 17 seats on the board, fired the company president and installed their union president as chief executive

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officer, reduced the number of salaried and supervising personnel to a more tolerable level, and established a workers' trust on the basis of one person-one vote. At the same time shop floor democratizing of decision-making is occurring while \$150 million in otherwise lost wages have gone; into the workers' pockets. While board level co-determination and workers' ownership are not often feasible or desirable, they may become powerful approaches to a labor economy under certain conditions.

The forms of struggle required in the labor movement over the next few years will need to build upon traditional strengths of mass action and new tactics such as worker buy-outs and collective ownership. Together these strategies may lead to a more effective guerilla warfare against the ruling class.

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